

PEOPLE

acher's Prose Wins
Miss Literary Prize
et leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev
as won a Swiss literary prize
treasures: New Thinking
country and The World. The
\$14,100 prize from a foundation
sponsored by Basle, Switzerland.
Willy Jaeggi, Gorbachev's
reaffirmed the global
ace of books as a medium
said. Presenting the award,
he would be "presumed."
he added. It will go to the
embassy in Switzerland.
al exchange programs.

elve of the United States
ing chefs prepared a dinner
Four Seasons restaurant
hattan this week to honor
a Clamborne, who recently
iced his retirement as founder
The New York Times. The
er — organized by Paul H.
Tom Margolies, owners of
Four Seasons, and Pierre Frey
munist for The New York Times.
Clamborne's collaborator
ly 35 years — was attended
friends and colleagues.

A truck driver has made Pe
anda lottery history by win
ing more than \$6 million.
officials announced. Robert
mpanies of Philadelphia, w
he spends \$45 a week on lot
won his first lottery jack
1986 and shared the prize
in other winters. His net
arnings from both jackpots are
\$250,000.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the
ur rises in a car accident, but
olombian writer is recover
off in a Caracas clinic. "Brake
don't stay forever in Venezuela,
you imagine," Garcia Mar
El Dorado de Cucaracha. The
winner of the 1982 Nobel Prize
Literature was injured in a
ision between a bus and the
which he was riding. He is
enforced to research the
usion of his car.

Sarah Lindsay, whose
Major Hugh Lindsay, age 2
was in a car accident in 1982
that caused his death, to be
Prince Charles' 21st birthday
daughter. An announcement
The Prince of Wales has
said the baby will be born later
this year.

CELTICS WIN
MONDAY
SPORTS
SEE PAGE 15

No. 32,733 21/88

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

INTERNATIONAL

Herald Tribune



PARIS, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1988

Algeria	6,000	Dak. Rep.	115	Rwanda	1,020	Rwanda	
Austria	22,500	Iran	165	U.S.S.R.	2,200	Peru	145
Bahrain	6,000	Lebanon	1,000	China	1,000	Portugal	1,000
Bulgaria	50,000	Yemen	1,000	Colombia	1,000	Qatar	8,000
China	50,000	Yemen	500	Costa Rica	1,000	Qatar	750
Canada	51,000	Kenya	30	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
Croatia	11,000	Kenya	500	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
Croatia	11,000	Kenya	500	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
Denmark	11,000	Kenya	500	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
Egypt	1,000	Kenya	500	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
Finland	1,000	Kenya	500	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
France	1,000	Kenya	500	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
Germany	2,700	Kenya	500	St. Lucia	1,000	Qatar	750
Great Britain	10,600	Kenya	500	U.S. Virgin Islands	1,000	Qatar	750
Greece	1,000	Kenya	500	U.S. Virgin Islands	1,000	Qatar	750

ESTABLISHED 1887

An Interview With the Soviet Leader

Gorbachev to Ask Reagan for Joint Mars Mission

He Sees Flight as Way To Long Cooperation

By Jim Hoagland
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev will ask President Ronald Reagan to approve a joint Soviet-U.S. unmanned flight to Mars as the symbol of an ambitious new era of superpower cooperation on Earth and in space when the two men meet in Moscow this month.

In an extended interview here, Mr. Gorbachev expressed hope that he and Mr. Reagan would be able to sign an agreement before the president left office early next year that would require the superpowers to cut strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 percent.

"I would certainly welcome that," the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party said, implying that he was willing to meet Mr. Reagan at a fifth summit meeting to sign another arms control accord, even if it had to be left to Mr. Reagan's successor to send it to the Senate.

Some of the Soviet leader's points were in written answers to questions submitted in writing two months ago, at the suggestion of Soviet officials.

Mr. Gorbachev rebuffed informal U.S. suggestions that some disputes be set aside temporarily to permit the strategic arms treaty to be completed and signed, saying it would be "senseless" to cut "strategic offensive forces in one area and at the same time launch an arms race in space or for life."

He combined praise for Mr. Reagan and the "progress" they have made together on arms control with firm declarations that he is ready to continue the new era of "very productive dialogue" with the next U.S. president.

Joint space research, he suggested, would help extend the friendly phase far into the future.

"The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the



The Soviet leader comes across as careful and controlled, daring and open, but with a sense of how far to go. Page 4

New Impetus Sought For Reform Program

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev, speaking intimately and with conviction about his "grandiose" plan for political and economic reform, has acknowledged that his campaign is entering a critical phase, mired in turbulence and new problems but not without hope.

Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged that his reforms were facing "more difficulties than before." But, during a 90-minute interview with editors of The Washington Post and Newsweek, he appeared unfazed by the lack of substantive progress in the first three years.

Rather, the experience had brought him new confidence because there was more intense interest by the people in seeking "an end to stagnation, an end to apathy."

Mr. Gorbachev said the processes of openness and democratization have made him more confident that his policies would succeed where those of Nikita S. Khrushchev, the Soviet leader removed from office in 1964 during his own reform process, failed.

Asked whether he favored limiting the terms of leading Communist Party officials, including that of general secretary — a reform that could transform Soviet political life — Mr. Gorbachev answered, "Yes." He declined to comment further, indicating that it would be considered at a forthcoming meeting of party leaders. The issue of fixed terms for party officials, now commonly allowed to serve for life, has inspired debate in the Soviet media.

Mr. Gorbachev said he was looking forward to a crucial party conference, due to start on June 28, to review the program of economic restructuring, or *perestroika*, and to

See REFORMS, Page 6

Kiosk

U.S. Proposes Deal to Noriega

WASHINGTON (AP) —

The United States has put a deal "on the table" for Panama's military ruler, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, to step down and leave the country "for a period of time," President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser, Lieutenant Colonel Colin Powell, said Sunday on the CBS program "Face the Nation."

Under the proposal, the United States would continue to recognize the ousted president, Eric Arturo Delvalle, as the legitimate authority in Panama rather than General Noriega's choice, Manuel Solis Palma.

(Earlier article, Page 3)

MONDAY Q&A



Takeshi Ochiai of the Bank of Japan says that intervention alone is no panacea for currency stability. Page 2.

General News

A study shows that more treatment is needed after all surgery for breast cancer. Page 2.

Clint Eastwood's latest film applauded at Cannes. Page 7.

Business/Finance

Lucky Stores accepted a sweetened takeover bid from American Stores for \$2.51 billion. Page 9.

2 Soviet Dismissals Follow New Unrest

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The Communist Party leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan have been dismissed after fresh outbreaks of ethnic tension in the two southern republics, the official press agency Tass reported.

The removal Saturday of the Armenian leader, Karen S. Demirchian, and the Azerbaijani chief, Kiyamran I. Bagirov, reflected high-level impatience in Moscow with the continuing tensions in the two republics, where civil unrest first broke out in February.

After a meeting of the ruling Politburo in Moscow on Thursday, senior members of the Kremlin leadership flew to the southern republics to take part in the meetings that removed the two men, according to Tass.

The removal of Mr. Bagirov, 55, was foreshadowed by recent press reports blaming him for allowing the growth of ethnic hatred that led to bloody rioting in February in the Azerbaijani port city of Sumgait.

Because of the explosive tensions in the region, the Kremlin had little

See ETHNIC, Page 6



Karoly Grosz, left, talking Sunday with Janos Kadar at a party meeting in which Mr. Grosz replaced Mr. Kadar as Hungary's leader. The Associated Press

U.S. Conservatives Helping Mozambican Rebels

By Robert Pear
and James Brooke
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A small group of wealthy U.S. businessmen, ideological conservatives and evangelical Christian missionaries have joined forces in an effort to aid rightist guerrillas fighting the Marxist government of Mozambique.

But after a bitter struggle, they have failed to persuade President Ronald Reagan to provide assistance to the insurgents, whom the administration has in recent months depicted as ruthless bandits.

The trial in Mozambique of an Australian missionary who confessed that he used to work for the rebel group, and statements by several defectors, have shed new light on its links to supporters in the United States.

The new Armenian party leader is Serzh Sargsyan, 49, a party secretary who was most recently the deputy head of the Armenian government.

Mr. Demirchian, 56, was under

stabbed or burned to death, the report said.

The document infuriated American lobbyists for Renamo, who said it was politically motivated and intellectually dishonest.

Administration officials say they have been surprised by the tenacity of the guerrilla group, the Mozambique National Resistance, often called Renamo. But the administration says it will not deal with the rebels, much less supply them with American-made weapons of the type provided to insurgents in Afghanistan and Angola.

The State Department virtually eliminated any chance that Renamo would receive aid from the U.S. government, and statements by several defectors, have shed new light on its links to supporters in the United States.

Mr. Schaf, who said that a conservative lobbying organization, Free the Eagle, provided desks, office space and the use of telephones to the Mozambique Research Center in Washington. In addition, Mr.

Serapiao said that Free the Eagle had helped pay some of his travel expenses in the United States.

James U. Blanchard 3d, a Louisiana businessman, said he started providing assistance to Renamo in 1986 by purchasing medical supplies and radios for the rebel group.

He said he contributes about \$3,000 a month to advance the guerrilla group's interests. For example, he said, he helps pay for the Washington operations of the Mozambique Research Center and provides cash payments to prominent Mozambican refugees sympathetic to Renamo.

Mr. Schaf said that he has given a total of \$50,000 to \$75,000 to aid Renamo in the last two years.

Robert C. MacKenzie, executive director of a conservative group called Freedom Inc., said that he and Mr. Schaf entered Mozambique in September 1986, bringing knives, walkie-talkies and other supplies to the rebels.

See REBELS, Page 2

Mr. MacKenzie said he had made the trip to assess the fighting there and to meet Mr. Dhlakama, the rebel leader.

Freedom Inc. gave \$15,000 to the Mozambique Research Center this year, according to people who work for both organizations.

There are no direct telephone links from Western countries to Renamo-controlled areas of Mozambique. Mr. Crocker said last year that "Renamo's external wing has been beset by divisions and appears to lack reliable links to the Renamo leadership inside Mozambique."

But Mr. Schaf said that he and Mr. Serapiao communicated with Renamo leaders inside the southern African country by making telephone calls to Zimbabwe and other countries on the border.

From those countries, he said, Renamo supporters send radio messages to the rebels inside Mozambique.

See REBELS, Page 2

Weary Lebanese Shiites Turn Hostile to Tehran

By Ihsan A. Hijazi
New York Times Service

BEIRUT — An increasing number of Lebanon's Shiite Moslems, among whom Iran has enjoyed wide popularity, have become hostile toward Tehran, which they blame for relentless political fighting in the southern suburbs of Beirut.

Fundamentalist militiamen of Hezbollah, the Party of God, which is financed and equipped by Iran, exchanged fire with mortars and other weapons on Sunday with the mainstream Shiite militia, Amal, a group backed by Syria. The police said six persons were killed in the 7th straight day of fighting.

The Shiites, with 1 million adherents, make up Lebanon's largest sectarian community. As the fighting continued Saturday, the supreme Shiite religious justice here was quoted as accusing the Tehran authorities of wanting to subject

the Shiite community to their tute-

"Our fight is not with the God; it is with the Islamic Republic of Iran," Sheikh Abd al-Amir Qasabani, who holds the title of grand mufti of the Shiites of Lebanon, said in an interview with the West Beirut weekly magazine Al Shira.

"Leave us alone before it is too late," he was quoted as declaring to the Iranians.

It was the sharpest public criticism of Iran to date by a senior Lebanese Shiite cleric. Sheikh Qasabani is affiliated with Amal, but in the past he had spoken favorably about links with Iran.

More than 250 Shiites have been killed and well over 1,000 wounded in the carnage in the southern districts.

The dead and dying are shown nightly on television programs that

See TEHRAN, Page 7



Death of a Jazzman: Last Notes on Trumpeter Chet Baker

By Mike Zwerin
International Herald Tribune

AMSTERDAM — Marking eras by some event or other is bound to be arbitrary, but it can be said that the myth of the bebop junkie, the image of jazz and drugs hand in hand, died along with Chet Baker when he fell out of the window of a hotel near the drug dealers' area on Zedelijk at 3:00 A.M. on Friday the 13th.

Bank of Japan Official Sees Currency Stability — for Now

Takeshi Ohta has been an official at the Bank of Japan for almost three decades. As deputy governor for international relations, Mr. Ohta '88, is currently the third-ranking official at the central bank, and is closely involved in its cooperative efforts on issues such as exchange and interest rates. He spoke last week in Tokyo with Patrick L. Smith of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. Are you confident of continued exchange-rate stability? Based on recent trade figures, many analysts say another round of yen appreciation could come soon after the Toronto summit of Western leaders in June.

A. Major countries are now prepared to cooperate in maintaining exchange rates since stability is the prerequisite for non-inflationary growth in the world economy. The markets have confidence in this, and in the continued improvement of economic fundamentals, especially in the United States. There is also confidence in the markets about investors' behavior and the continued flow of capital into the United States. In the long term, however, as long as the Japanese external surplus

and the U.S. deficit remain large, pressure on the yen is rather inevitable.

Q. Japan's basic balance for the first quarter of 1988 turned positive for the first time in almost five years, meaning the country is now taking in more money than it is putting out. Are you concerned?

A. We're not much worried about this. The most important things are the current account and the trade account, and both showed declines. Yes, the net outflow of long-term capital slowed in the first quarter. But late last year foreigners were selling stock, while in the first quarter of this year they were buying.

Q. Although Japan's indicators remain positive, just how long can domestic demand be sustained? Are you concerned that the nation may not continue playing the role it assumed after the Plaza accord of 1985, to stimulate its economy?

A. I'm confident about the economy for the rest of 1988. Our performance recently has been better than expected, due to private consumption, public spending, housing and construction starts, corporate fixed investment and inventory levels.

But if we have an oil crisis, a financial crisis or a sharp depreciation of the yen — none of which is likely — some impact

in the long term would be inevitable. Q. Despite substantial growth in money supply in Japan and other countries that have intervened in support of the dollar, there is little sign of inflation outside the United States. But is liquidity fueling financial-asset inflation — stock prices and property values — in Japan and elsewhere?

A. Liquidity has caused high returns on financial investments, it's true. But mon-

MONDAY Q&A

ey-supply growth [in Japan] has been partly the result of financial liberalization with money shifting from the non-banking sector to the banking sector. The relationship between money supply and real economic activity has become more vague than it used to be, and we can't simply link money supply to inflation. We have to recognize the risk, but it's not imminent.

Q. The Bank of Japan seems to be increasingly impatient with the need to intervene to help clean up a mess it sees as essentially of America's making. Can you respond?

A. That's too simple. Tokyo, New York and the European markets are now almost completely integrated. If something happens in one market, the impact would almost instantaneously spill over. We are unhappy to continue to cooperate; it's in our interest, too. But continued cooperation on macroeconomic policies is absolutely important. Unless we can expect this, we cannot intervene indefinitely. Intervention is not a panacea for the stability of exchange rates.

A. How easily will Japanese banks be able to adjust to new international standards on capital adequacy? If leading banks are dramatically short of capital, this suggests that asset growth will have to be severely restricted, at least for some.

A. True, to achieve the agreed ratio banks

will have to enhance their capital bases and adjust the growth of assets at the same time. We expect an agreement on this between the banks and the monetary authorities by the end of June. My feeling is they are fully prepared to accept this, since they are anxious to be good players in world markets. Of course the situation is different bank by bank, but yes, it will cost them enormously to do it.

Q. Japan has been seeking greater influ-

ence in the Asian Development Bank. Why? Does this constitute a kind of confrontation with the United States?

A. There should be no difficulty for European and American people to understand the close relationship between Japan and the Asian region. Under the Reagan administration, there has been more policy emphasis on the private sector and not on state-owned or nationalized industries. But how many Asian corporations could really be privatized? There are some regional features to this issue. But "confrontation" is a bit exaggerated.

Q. How do you feel about a proposed "Marshall Plan" for the Philippines? It would be difficult to separate politics and economics, as Japan insists must be the case.

A. It's a colorful kite, but I question whether a Marshall Plan is really necessary. The important points are to persuade the Philippines to continue its adjustment process, to persuade the Japanese commercial banks and others to continue cooperating and to persuade the international organizations, as well as Japan, the United States and other governments to accept more burden sharing. The economy has deteriorated, but it has a solid base.

WORLD BRIEFS

UN Soldier Kills a Turkish Cypriot

NICOSIA, Cyprus (Combined Dispatches) — An Austrian soldier serving with the United Nations Force in Cyprus has shot and killed a Turkish Cypriot man in the village of Pyla in the first fatal shooting involving the UN force since it arrived on the island in 1964.

Cypriot television said that the man, Hussein Kafa, who was said to be in his 60s, had fired first at the soldier on Saturday, and that the soldier then fired three shots, killing Mr. Kafa. The Austrian was wounded and was taken to Larnaca Hospital, five kilometers (three miles) from Pyla, the television said.

Rauf Denktash, the leader of the breakaway Turkish Cypriot republic, said Sunday that the future of the peacekeeping force had been thrown into question by the killing. He said the shooting followed several weeks of harassment of Mr. Kafa by Austrian soldiers. However, a UN spokesman described Mr. Kafa as a troublemaker. The spokesman said Mr. Kafa was shot after he opened fire and seriously wounded an Austrian lieutenant who went to question him. (AP, Reuters)

Mitterrand Vows Unity in 2d Term

PARIS (AP) — President François Mitterrand has begun his second seven-year term, promising to formulate policy aimed at uniting fellow Socialists with non-Socialists.

Speaking Saturday during a 20-minute inauguration ceremony at the Elysee Palace, Mr. Mitterrand said his re-election on May 8, when he defeated Jacques Chirac, a conservative who later resigned as prime minister, "was not the good ones winning over the bad ones, nor the other way around."

He called on French people to work together "so that the principle of hope might triumph over the compulsions of fear and confrontation." Mr. Mitterrand, 71, has called legislative elections for June 5, with the runoff June 12. Socialists, backing the new prime minister, Michel Rocard, are expected to win a large majority in the National Assembly.

Police and Kwangju Protesters Clash

KWANGJU, South Korea (Reuters) — South Korean riot police clashed Sunday with thousands of protesters in this southwestern city, firing tear gas to hold back anti-government and anti-American rallies.

The demonstrators, chanting and hurling rocks and gasoline bombs, were demanding a full-scale inquiry into the army's crushing in Kwangju of a 1980 revolt directed against martial law. Officials say about 200 people died in the 1980 uprising, but dissidents say the death toll was at least 1,000.

Scores of protesters were arrested Sunday, but there were no reports of injuries. The clashes, which lasted about four hours, halted traffic in much of the city. Clouds of tear gas hung over the city center and streets were littered with rocks, broken bottles and spent tear-gas canisters. Many demonstrators participated earlier in a student tribute at a cemetery where about 100 victims of the 1980 uprising are buried.

Aquino Guard Kills 12 in Rampage

MANILA (Reuters) A drunken member of President Corazon C. Aquino's security guard ran amok and shot to death 12 persons, including three children, the police said Sunday.

The police said Sergeant Mariano Coniaco, who has disappeared, shot and killed four companions, including two fellow marines who also were temporary members of the presidential security guard, with his pistol while drinking with them Saturday night in a Manila suburb.

The sergeant then went to his house nearby, where he got a rifle and fired at people in the street, apparently without hitting anyone. But at a neighbor's house, he killed a family of eight, three of them children, the military said. The president's guard is a select and independent unit of the armed forces, which guards the presidential palace and escorts the president on out-of-town visits.

Ex-Singapore President Assails Lee

SINGAPORE (IHT) — A former Singapore head of state accused the government of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew on Sunday of creating in Singapore "an incredible economic success marred to an abysmal political style which does not tolerate any dissent."

C.V. Devan Nair, president from 1981 to 1985 and a founding member of Singapore's ruling party, asserted that the arrest and re-arrest of several dozen well-educated Singaporean dissidents since 1987 was intended to prevent a more effective political opposition from emerging.

"I think the whole thing stinks to high heaven," Mr. Nair said in an interview from his home here that was broadcast by BBC radio. Although Mr. Nair delivered a similar broadside last year, his renewed criticism is threatening to the government, analysts said, because he is seen as someone around whom an opposition movement could coalesce.

REBELS: Aid From U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

biopic. Renamo has an extensive radio network connecting its headquarters and bases in Mozambique.

In a recent interview, Paul Oliveira, a member of Renamo from 1981 to 1987, said that representatives of the group in Lisbon communicated with their colleagues in South Africa using a telecopier and a "military cipher machine." Mr. Oliveira used to be Renamo's spokesman in Lisbon, a good listening post for developments in Mozambique because Portugal is the former colonial ruler.

Saudi Arabia and China have provided few details about the missile deal. They have said that in the process of modifying the missile to carry a conventional warhead, its range has been somewhat shortened. These modifications would normally require changes in the guidance system as well. U.S. experts say.

The CSS-2 is a first-generation missile that is not known for its accuracy. The Saudis have told U.S. officials they wanted it mainly to create a credible deterrent to Iranian threats of missile attacks on oil and other targets in Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Oliveira used to be Renamo's spokesman in Lisbon, a good listening post for developments in Mozambique because Portugal is the former colonial ruler.

Mr. Oliveira was a member of Shekinah Ministries, a Pentecostal organization that has been active in areas of Mozambique controlled by Renamo.

Mr. MacKenzie, who is an American citizen, served as a U.S. Army paratrooper in Vietnam and then worked in a unit of the Rhodesian Army, the Special Air Service, that gave training and tactical advice to members of Renamo in the late 1970s. In 1979, he led a raid on an oil storage depot at the port of Beira, in Mozambique.

In 1980, after Rhodesia had become the independent country of Zimbabwe, South Africa took over sponsorship of Renamo. Mr. MacKenzie joined the South African Army and continued to train and advise members of Renamo until 1981.

Renamo asserts that all its weapons and ammunition, including machine guns, mortars, rockets and grenade launchers, have been captured from Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops fighting for the leftist Mozambican government. Mr. Schaaf says the rebels receive no aid from South Africa.

American and Mozambican officials say that South African military intelligence has continued to provide equipment, intelligence and other forms of assistance to the rebels, even though such aid was to have ended under an agreement signed by South Africa and Mozambique in 1984.

TRAVEL UPDATE

In a demonstration, more than 600 rowboats sailed en masse the canals of Venice on Sunday to protest against motorboats and other modern inventions that pollute the water. (AP)

A barge broke out on a P&O ferry crossing the English Channel, and the crew was forced to return to port at Cherbourg, France, where 13 young British men were arrested, French immigration police said Sunday. (UPI)

At least 57 people died and more than 160 were injured in flooding from a storm that hit part of China's Fujian Province Friday night and Saturday, the official Xinhua press agency said Sunday. (UPI)

For the Record

Protesters marched through central Madrid on Sunday in opposition to a government plan to join the Western European Union, the defense forum that promotes European military cooperation. The police said 2,000 people took part in the protest by leftist political parties, trade unions and pacifist groups. Organizers said 5,000 participated. (AP)

A 70-year-old white farmer was burned to death near Greylingsstad, 80 kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Johannesburg, when blacks set his house afire and stoned it, the police said Sunday. (Reuters)

At least 57 people died and more than 160 were injured in flooding from a storm that hit part of China's Fujian Province Friday night and Saturday, the official Xinhua press agency said Sunday. (UPI)

Giorgio Armani Neofa

To Inspect

Source: Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. Reuters.

DOONESBURY

AND EVEN THOUGH MOST PEOPLE THOUGHT THE QUAKE WAS DUE ON THE 23RD, NOSTRADAMUS ACTUALLY PREDICTED IT FOR MAY 21ST, THIS FRIDAY!

UH-HUH...WELL, THAT'S GREAT, BOOSIE...

B.D. DIDN'T YOU HEAR ME? I SAID FRIDAY! THAT'S ONLY FOUR DAYS AWAY! I'LL PENCIL IT IN.

B.D. THE DARN COAST IS GOING TO SLIDE INTO THE OCEAN! REMIND ME TO MOVE THE CAR.

MEMORIAL FOR BUDDY WEISS

Friends of the former Editor of the Herald Tribune, who died on March 12, are invited to a memorial gathering in his honor at the IHT offices at 181, ave. Charles-de-Gaulle, Neuilly, on Thursday May 26, between 1 and 3 p.m. Those planning to attend are requested to call Amik Cretu: 46.37.94.02.

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جناح البحرين

THE GORBACHEV INTERVIEW: The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the winds of hope.

The Moscow Gorbachev: Careful and Controlled

By Robert G. Kaiser
and David Remnick
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The Mikhail Gorbachev who welcomes visitors to his cavernous office in the Central Committee building on Moscow's Old Square is not the man who leaped out of his limousine in Washington last December to woo a startled lunch-time crowd.

The Moscow Gorbachev is a careful, controlled politician who brought with him the pinnacle of Soviet society: a kind of double past, a life in which an inclination for daring was tempered by his political ambitions and a sense of how far to go. Although he has made openness his general credo, there were times during his interview with The Washington Post and *Newsweek* when he decided reticence was the appropriate tactic.

Asked directly if he and his fellow Politburo member, Yegor K. Ligachev, had important disagreements, Mr. Gorbachev replied with general references to "lively and constant discussion" and "sometimes heated debate." But he studiously avoided any word or phrase that could be read as a direct reference to Mr. Ligachev.

Obviously, political tensions persist within the ruling Politburo. In the Soviet transcript of the inter-

NEWS ANALYSIS

1980s when he tried, with no success, to revive Soviet agriculture as the Central Committee secretary responsible for the farm sector.

While Mr. Gorbachev appeared at ease as he discussed his reform program, he straightened in his chair and began tapping the table with his fingernails or clenching his hands when asked pointed questions about how much independence European countries could exercise about his relationship with Mr. Ligachev, or the boundaries of freedom of expression in Soviet society.

At such moments, Mr. Gorbachev's voice dropped. That solemnity was a reminder that, for Mr. Gorbachev, this interview was largely for domestic consumption. A version of it was to be printed

in the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*.

Washington Post Service

This is the complete English-language text supplied by the Soviet government in response to written questions submitted to Mikhail S. Gorbachev in March. The questions were requested in writing by the Soviets after *The Washington Post* asked for an interview with Mr. Gorbachev. In their written response, the Soviets revised some of the questions. Where the questions differ significantly, parts of the original questions submitted by *The Washington Post* appear in brackets.

Q: Have the three meetings with President Reagan changed your ideas as to how peaceful cooperation [competition] between capitalist and socialist countries should be regulated in the future? How do you think the forthcoming summit will contribute to stabilizing that competition? [Specifically, how do you now see the prospects of achieving a detailed agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons that would stabilize superpower relations and make sure that neither side retains a credible first-strike option? Is it not possible to also use your formulation — that a new world war does not correspond to the realities of the nuclear era — to argue that nuclear weapons have contributed to global stability in recent decades?]

A: I am convinced that positive trends are unfolding in the world. There is a turn from confrontation to coexistence. The winds of hope are being replaced by the winds of hope. And I see that a significant role in that process is being played by the signs of improvement in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. All over the world there is an acute need for change or, if you wish, a need for restructuring international relations. In that situation it is essential to continue positive contacts between the East and the West.

As for the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is simply vital because of the great role they play in today's world.

The very fact of that dialogue is working for peace, not to mention its content with such exceptionally important joint statements as those regarding the inadmissibility of wars, nuclear or any other, the necessity of resolving problems by political means and of recognizing the realities of today's world.

It is very important that all this has sounded loud and clear for the whole world to hear, and we have seen how the world has responded to it. All this leads to the following conclusion: Yes, we are all different and will remain so. We will remain loyal to our ideas and our way of life. But we have a common responsibility, especially our two great powers, and our every action must measure up to that responsibility.

As for the potential results of the upcoming fourth meeting with the president and, notably, the prospects for a detailed agreement on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons, the past few months and weeks have seen so much speculation that I would like to make the following point: Be patient, the meeting is just a few days away, let the president and I work together. Whatever we arrive at will certainly not be concealed from the public.

There are two more points to be made here. The very continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue at the summit level is important and substantive. In any case, I hope our attention will be focused on the main international problems, like at the previous meetings, and that we will be able to rise to a new level of dialogue and mutual understanding.

And next, if an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons comes to be drafted under the present U.S. administration, I see no reason why President Reagan and I should not sign it. I would certainly welcome that.

Q: Many people in the West think that nuclear weapons have been instrumental in maintaining stability in the world over the past few decades. Would it not be more rational for the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. in those conditions to agree on preserving minimal nuclear deterrents? [Might it not be more realistic to seek to identify and negotiate with the United States a permanent minimal nuclear deterrent, perhaps of several hundred strategic warheads on each side, than continue to strive for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons?]

A: I cannot agree with those who think that the drive for a nuclear-free world is hopeless.

I have argued more than once with representatives of the West over our case that without nuclear weapons we would never have survived for 40 years without another world war. This is just a conjecture. But what about a sober evaluation of the real role played by the so-called "balance of fear"? It has given us nothing but unheeded militarization of foreign policies, economies and even intellectual life. It has caused damage in the sphere of international morality and ethics and has killed the atmosphere of mutual trust, friendliness and sincere interest in each other which was born in Soviet-American relations in the years of joint warfare and victory over fascism.

I am convinced that strategic military parity can be maintained at a low level and without nuclear weapons. We have clearly formulated our choice: to stop, then reverse the arms race. As for the so-called "minimal nuclear deter-

view, prepared for domestic publication, all references to Mr. Ligachev's name were removed.

That the Moscow Gorbachev admitted limits to his immediate ambitions. The most difficult economic changes, he said, had been postponed until the next five-year plan, which will not be adopted until 1990.

Mr. Gorbachev learned the frustrations of practical economic reform in the late 1970s and early

Monday in the Communist Party daily *Pravda* and other papers.

That the Moscow Gorbachev was more restrained than the Washington Gorbachev is no surprise. Soviet society is still deeply conservative, its political culture steeped in traditions that discourage the emergence of a colorful leading personality. When he reported to his countrymen on the December summit meeting in Washington, Mr. Gorbachev resumed his Moscow persona to describe his own personal triumph in America in dreary official tones.

Although he has been described as spontaneous, Mr. Gorbachev is anything but. He is the master of his own personality, able to slip on the appropriate mask — be it spontaneity or solemnity — as geography or policy demands.

Mr. Gorbachev is trained in the art of political self-discipline. While his university friends remember him as free-thinking and outspoken, Mr. Gorbachev climbed through the party ranks with a reputation for intelligence and honesty and an ability to curry favor with his superiors.

Now, Mr. Gorbachev is trying to combine his new and effective public personality with innovative policies to achieve a paradoxical goal: to make "revolutionary" changes in social or economic life.

Perhaps "the most important

product of perestroika," Mr. Gorbachev said, was that "people have become involved in the political process. They want to participate, to express their opinions and judgments. And that is wonderful."

In his first three years as Communist Party general secretary, his principal success has been ideological. Mr. Gorbachev has made radical reform the country's platform. He has introduced open debate, a lively press, publication of long-suppressed books and journals. But the better life that Mr. Gorbachev promised his people — improved food, consumer goods, housing opportunities for travel and recreation — is still just a promise.

Making "democratization" an effective instrument of economic change is one of Mr. Gorbachev's trickier acts, because he wants to do it in a society that through centuries of rule by czars and communists has had no tradition of public involvement in politics.

As he tries to stimulate the creation of a new political culture, Mr. Gorbachev clearly intends to retain many of the old limits. He has directed historians and the press to exploit *glasnost*, his policy of openness in society, to examine the crimes of the Stalin era and the corruption and stagnation that followed. He also has freed political prisoners and slowly permitted

more Soviets to leave the country if they wish.

But Mr. Gorbachev revealed limits to his tolerance. Asked why, after he had promoted freedom of speech and the creation of "a socialist legal state," the authorities still harass and imprison dissidents who express nonorthodox views, Mr. Gorbachev bristled.

One dissident, Sergei Grigoryants, about whom he was asked, is "some kind of alien phenomenon in our society sponsored on the democratic process," Mr. Gorbachev said.

Mr. Grigoryants spent a week in jail this month for his activities connected with publishing an independent journal of opinion and human rights reportage that he has cheekily named *Glasnost*.

Mr. Gorbachev said Soviet society was "strong enough to overcome such a thing" as Mr. Grigoryants, a revealing choice of language. He picked a word of power — "overcome" — rather than one of tolerance.

Mr. Gorbachev's habit, both as political and personal actor, has been to go further than his peers and audiences demand.

In the interview he explored areas that his immediate predecessors would never have touched: the failures of previous Soviet leaders, his

own failure to improve living standards, the price the country has paid for arbitrary government.

In three years as Soviet leader, Mr. Gorbachev has gone beyond what anyone ever expected of him. *Glasnost* may be an instrument, and a limited one, but it has changed Soviet society profoundly, opening public discussion on sensitive topics that have been taboo for generations. Mr. Gorbachev said he hoped those changes would be "irreversible."

Many issues have already been resolved within the framework of the democratic process, while others will be resolved as Soviet society changes qualitatively in the course of perestroika. But that is our job. We are resolving these issues not because we want to play up to somebody or to please somebody, but because this meets the interests of our society, because perestroika cannot be carried out without it, and last but not least, because it is wanted by the Soviet people who have long outgrown the restrictions which they put up with in the past and which were to a certain extent an inevitable part of the unusual revolutionary development which we have gone through.

Once I said, and it seems to me, to an American: Please, show me a country that has no problems. Each country has problems of its own, human rights included. Of course, we are well-informed about the situation with political, social, economic and other rights in the United States. We know well the achievements and problems, but also the flaws of American society. But we do not tolerate interference in your home affairs, though we deem it right to express our views on the processes taking place in American society, on your administration's policy. But we do not want to make all this a reason for confrontation. We consider such an approach to be correct, fair, we see it as meeting the interests of Soviet-American relations and their future. I want to emphasize once again that we do not try to impose anything on the United States, but at the same time we remain amenable by any side to meddle in our affairs, no matter who tries to do so in your country.

Such is, in principle, our approach. At the same time, there are problems in the human rights sphere which require joint consideration. The mechanism of cooperation in that area has begun to take shape of late. Scientists, specialists and public representatives have been widely drawn into it. Specific issues are analyzed at their meetings in a calm atmosphere and businesslike manner.

We also welcome the accord on setting up a permanent body on human rights with the participation of deputies to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and U.S. congressmen. It is the duty of legislators in both countries to show concern for observance of the citizens' rights.

We are prepared to go on acting in this spirit.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to say the following. As it seems to me, pragmatism, preparedness to seek new decisions if what has been tested does not work is the Americans' forte. But they also have a trait — please, do not resent my frankness — which sometimes makes it difficult to deal with them. I mean their confidence that everything American can be the best, while what others have is at least worse if not altogether bad and unfit for use. I am not talking about anticomunism, which has been implanted in the U.S.A. for decades, despite the fact that Albert Einstein called it "the greatest lie of the 20th century" many years ago.

For the sake of our mutual understanding, please, do not try to teach us to live according to American rules — it is altogether useless. And I repeat that, for our part, we do not intend to suggest our values to the Americans. Let each side live in its own way, respecting each other's choice and voluntarily exchanging the fruits of our labor in all spheres of human activity.

I am sure that each nation, each people does not lose but, conversely, wins if it looks at itself critically and does not ignore others' experience, if it is open to understanding of and respect for a different culture, a different way of thinking, different customs, lastly, a different political system, of course, if it is not terrorist, fascist or dictatorial.

Q: The Soviet leadership has concluded that demonstrations of nationalism in the Baltic republics, Armenia and other areas of the Soviet Union were precipitated in part by shortcomings in "internationalist education." Does your policy of *glasnost* (greater socialist pluralism) require fundamental changes in the way relations among Soviet nationalities are structured? Does your policy [your policy of *perestroika*] offer new ways of addressing the interests of cultural diversity and internationalism among nationalities?

As the question of changing the socialist principles of relations among the peoples, big and small, in our country is not on the agenda of the U.S.S.R. But we will set right the violations of these principles. It is such violations that caused the recent developments in some of our republics. The West has displayed, I would say, a morbid interest in them, not infrequently with anti-Soviet intentions and bad intentions. It made lavish use of speculations aimed at weakening our multiethnic union.

Problems certainly do exist, and they are linked with the legacy we inherited from the time of the personality cult and the period of stagnation in the economy, social policy, spiritual life and human relations.

Internationalism, which is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of Soviet people of all nationalities, will help us resolve the problems of this sphere, too. And we will resolve them in the spirit of *perestroika* and in close linkage with the accomplishment of all the main tasks it involves, in the process of radical renewal of society.

I appreciate the kind words Mrs. Thatcher addressed to us now and then. However, I cannot help saying that I disagree with her

on [Added by the Soviets: Judging by the president's statements, you disagree with him on human rights.] At the same time, your dramatic decision to free Andrei Sakharov and [to telephone him immediately after doing so] to ease the conditions of emigration for some Soviet Jews who desire to live abroad have attracted attention around the world. [What made you decide to call Sakharov and to ease up on emigration and what results do you feel these decisions have achieved in the Soviet Union? What further steps do you plan in this direction?]

Q: Recalling her talks with you, Mrs. Thatcher drew a comparison between the criticism and resistance a Western leader faces in bringing change and what you have encountered in pushing *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness). She wished you success. Is the comparison accurate? Or is it fundamentally different? To be more specific, by *glasnost* you seem to mean something different from what we think of as freedom of speech. Could you elaborate on the differences?

Q: [Added by the Soviets: Judging by the president's statements, you disagree with him on human rights.] At the same time, your dramatic decision to free Andrei Sakharov and [to telephone him immediately after doing so] to ease the conditions of emigration for some Soviet Jews who desire to live abroad have attracted attention around the world. [What made you decide to call Sakharov and to ease up on emigration and what results do you feel these decisions have achieved in the Soviet Union? What further steps do you plan in this direction?]

Q: Our *perestroika*, the main factor of which is creative effort, also includes doing away with all deformations of the past years, with everything that hampers manifestation of the humanist essence of socialism.

We know our problems and speak honestly and openly about them. The process of democratization does not bypass the sphere of human rights and liberties. We are enhancing the political and public status of the human personality.

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Internationalism, which is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of Soviet people of all nationalities, will help us resolve the problems of this sphere, too. And we will

THE GORBACHEV INTERVIEW: 'The most expensive mistakes are political mistakes.'

Text of Interview: Emphasis on Reforms and Cooperation With U.S.

Washington Post Service

Following is the full transcript of a 90-minute interview of General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev by senior executives and editors of The Washington Post and Newsweek. The interview was conducted by Katherine Graham, chairman of the board of The Washington Post Co.; Richard Smith, editor in chief of Newsweek; Meg Greenfield, editorial page editor of The Washington Post and Newsweek columnist; Jim Hoagland, associate editor and chief foreign correspondent of The Washington Post; and Robert G. Kaiser, assistant managing editor for national news of The Washington Post and a former Moscow correspondent. The transcript was prepared by The Washington Post from both English and Russian.

Graham: Well, we are aware that you are following many things, in particular events in our country, and that you read a lot and remember everything (laughter).

Gorbachev: Well, someone recommended me very well to you. I must extend to you Mrs. Gorbachev's warmest regards.

Graham: Thank you. We had such a nice meeting in Washington. I was hoping perhaps to be able to see her here, but if not please give her my best regards.

Gorbachev: She is not an easily manageable person (laughter).

Graham: They say that about all of us.

Gorbachev: There is an interesting phrase, I think, of Engels. He used to say that a woman is an entire civilization.

Kaiser: (Pointing to a portrait on the office wall) Engels is right here. (Everyone is seated and questioning begins.)

Gorbachev: How are things in Washington?

Graham: Well, everybody is getting ready for the summit and thousands of people are going to come here. And everybody is looking forward with great expectation and great hopes to this occasion.

Gorbachev: The summit boom that used to be in Washington is now moving to Moscow.

'I think we have learned from the past, which is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democratization.'

Hoagland: I wonder if we can pursue a couple of specific points on perestroika. As you say, it's a turbulent time and that there are more difficulties in some areas now than there were before. Price reform is an swiftly important area in perestroika. It's also . . . The system here of subsidies has been part of the old social contract between the citizens and the government, meaning that every Soviet customer gets a 3 ruble (.85) subsidy on a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of meat, a 30-kopek (.50-U.S.-cent) subsidy on each liter (1.07 quart) of milk that's sold.

Are you persuaded that this has to be changed, these subsidies that cost the government so much? If so, how urgently, and how will you change it?

Gorbachev: We have been discussing this problem, and not only in the government but in society, too. People in Moscow can confirm that there is a vigorous debate on these questions in our press. The people involved in that debate include workers, rank-and-file people, collective farmers, intellectuals, veterans — because this concerns the whole society. And at all that. And that means an end to stagnation, an end to apathy. This is a turbulent time, a turbulent sea in which it is not easy to sail the ship, but we have a compass and we have a crew to guide that ship. And the ship itself is strong.

And, of course, although we do have very diverse contacts with representatives of the United States — in the spheres of politics, of science and technology, of economics, in all areas — but all of those contacts cannot substitute for the summit.

And so I want to tell you that Moscow, too, is living in an atmosphere of preparations for the visit of the U.S. president. We have not had a visit of a U.S. president for 14 years now.

Graham: Well, you have, together with President Reagan, Mr. [George P.] Shultz and Mr. [Edmund A.] Sherrard, I believe, have established an entirely new kind of productive discussion that certainly has been missing for many years.

Gorbachev: Yes, and I think that is the most important thing. Though I do value the actual, specific agreements that we have signed, such as the INF [Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces] agreement, it seems to me that the most important political result of the recent period of improvement in our relations is the regular and very productive political dialogue that we have been having.

Graham: Thank you, I feel that our . . .

Gorbachev: I began to ask you questions in order to seize the initiative (laughter). I have answered your written questions and so now it is time to just have a conversation.

Graham: I want to begin by thanking you for answering the written questions. We have much to write about from these questions, and we are grateful for your frankness in them. We would like to cover as many of the areas of mutual interest as is possible in this meeting.

Let me begin by saying that in the process of preparing for this meeting, everywhere we have gone we have been told how many problems you face, how difficult they will be to resolve. Many people are awed by the audacity of your undertaking. I wonder if you yourself sometimes have moments when the task seems overwhelming or impossible, when you hesitate. I want to ask, why will your reform programs succeed, when those of your predecessors, say, like Nikita Khrushchev, have not succeeded?

Gorbachev: I think you have asked the principal question, whose answer our people want to know, and I think Americans do, too, because, one way or another, it is the fate of our two countries, two peoples, whether we want it or not, to live together and to cooperate. And that means that we have to know each other better.

First of all, about our plans. Those plans are truly grandiose. It is precisely for that reason that we call our perestroika restructuring revolutionary. You know, it may be paradoxical, but now I am more confident in the political line we have chosen for perestroika, for the renewal of our society, than at the beginning of this road, although we now have more difficulties than before.

What is the explanation for that? I think that we do know better now what we want and how to do it. Therefore we have more confidence. Tomorrow at the Central Committee of the Communist Party we will be discussing the documents being prepared for the 19th national party conference. I can say even now that the national party conference will give a second wind to all our plans and into all our work to implement those plans.

But I think I would sound overconfident to you if I just confined myself to what I just said. It is obvious that making decisions at this critical juncture in our life is something that carries great responsibility — above all, responsibility to our people. We are not insured against mistakes, but we want to minimize the number we make and we don't want to make major mistakes.

*The most expensive mistakes are political mistakes. We want to insure ourselves against major mistakes, and therefore we want our decisions, at least our principal decisions, to be prepared with the involvement of the whole society, the intellectual forces of our society. We want them to be prepared democratically. This, we believe, is the main guarantee against mistakes. So that is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democratization and openness and public debate, *glasnost*, in our society. We shall not retreat from that. Moreover, the greatest progress that will grow out of*

the forthcoming decisions of the party conference will be precisely in this area.

I have now approached the answer to the second part of your question. Of course, already many years ago in our party and in our society, I think that people understood the need for reforms, the need for renewal of our country. Attempts, I would say, for attempts, were made at that time by Nikita Khrushchev and the leadership of his time to introduce major reforms. I would say that in the [Leonid] Brezhnev period, too, the leadership of that time conceived and was trying to implement major reforms.

But these reforms did not bear fruit, and I think the main reason for that is that those reforms did not rely, the process of reforms did not rely on the main, decisive force — and that is the involvement of the people in modernizing and restructuring our country. I think we have learned from the past, which is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democratization.

Therefore, for us the words that have become popular, "More democracy, more socialism" are not just a slogan or a pretty formulation. This is a well thought out concept. Through the development of the process of democratization, through improvements in the economic, political, social and spiritual areas, we can reveal the absolute right of nations to choose their own path, capitalism or socialism or whatever variant on it they wish. And we are curious as to how this will apply to the countries of Eastern Europe, the socialist states. For example, in Poland there are elements in the society arguing for a pluralistic system in which the Communist Party might not play the leading role. Would such an outcome be acceptable, tolerable, to you?

Gorbachev: I think that it would certainly be better to put that question to the Polish people. I think that would be more consistent with what you said in the beginning of your question — that we do recognize the right of every country to have its own social option, to choose its own ways of developing its society. In that frame-

are many people who are pushing us toward some kind of leap forward, toward some kind of very rapid movement. But we are going to move in a calculated, measured way in continuous consultation with the people through a democratic process. In any case, I think that after hearing this answer, The Washington Post will not urge us to rush the process of perestroika.

Greenfield: Mr. Gorbachev, could I ask you about a different kind of perestroika. You've written about perestroika, restructuring, in international relations, and specifically in relations among socialist countries. You have written and spoken very eloquently about the absolute right of nations to choose their own path, capitalism or socialism or whatever variant on it they wish.

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sort out the history of perestroika, and, of course, we want that analysis of this period to be a critical one. We want to draw lessons — perhaps that will be necessary. And based on that analysis, we may have to take some corrective measures in what we are doing in perestroika.

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policy, a referendum for all the people. Have you heard about that letter and what do you think about the idea for a referendum?

Gorbachev: (Laughing) That letter's not the only thing I've heard about. I think those facts are entirely positive. In the first place, the society is not indifferent to who is in the leadership of the country. And that is evidence of people's great interest. And that is a very interesting symbol that also demonstrates the achievements of perestroika. People have been involved in the political process. They want to participate, to express their opinions and judgments. And that is wonderful. That will be the most important product of perestroika.

In the economic and social sphere a great deal of work remains to be done for there to be noticeable changes. There have been some positive changes, but for major changes that all of society can feel, we need more time to work.

Nothing is happening in the party or in society that would confirm the anxiety about which you spoke. And here I am not talking about myself. I mean that there is no such thing that promises any kind of split in the leadership. Probably you have to know our political process to understand that if the general secretary did not have the support of the people closest to him, then nothing would have happened in our country after April [the April 1985

But we are sure that our country is strong enough to overcome such a thing. I have said that perestroika is a kind of melting pot that will make our society stronger, that will reveal its democratic, human potential, all in the interest of man. And that which some suggest — that we look for our future in different values and liquidate socialist property, et cetera — our people reject. This will not be accepted — it is an illusion. And you must know this.

To conclude, let me express my satisfaction with our meeting and express the hope, a weak hope, that The Washington Post and Newsweek will illuminate what is going on in the Soviet Union on the basis of objective analysis, serious, responsible analysis. We are not asking for praise, but we invite you to get to know the truths that perestroika has produced. A respectable publisher must do everything respectfully.

Graham: Could we impose on your good will for one really important question that hasn't been asked?

Hoagland: We wanted to talk a little about the summit both in terms of substance and atmosphere. In your written answers you say that you would welcome another meeting with Mr. Reagan to sign an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Is this agreement on a 50 percent reduction so important and so close to completion now that it could be signed while negotiations on space defenses and on other problems such as sea-launched cruise missiles continue?

Gorbachev: Well, we are very much and fundamentally committed to decisive reductions in nuclear arms and therefore we want to see the agreement on 50 percent reductions in strategic offensive forces. We want to have that signed. In our assessment we have covered together a long road in the search for conclusions to all questions. But I think you would agree with me that if I say that if we sign with one hand a treaty reducing strategic offensive forces in one area and at the same time launch an arms race in space or at sea, what would be the point? That would be senseless.

And so this is not capricious, it isn't some kind of maneuver from the Soviet side, but rather a carefully thought out and responsible position. I think it is in the interest of the Soviet people, of the American people and the people of the world.

If we just replace one kind of arms race with another, particularly in space, where the arms race would take a particularly dramatic turn, we would undermine the trust that has begun to be built, we would make worthless all the experience that we have accumulated at the Geneva negotiations. This new kind of arms race, new sphere for an arms race, new criteria — it would take decades to reach some kind of agreement and come to an agreement.

I think that he who pushes for an arms race in space is committing a crime against the people — his own people, and others. That must be said with all responsibility, and with clarity. Such an approach, such an idea, is a road to destabilization, to unpredictability on matters of security. This must be condemned, the initiator of such an approach must be pilloried.

And sea-launched cruise missiles — this would also be a roundabout maneuver that could become a new avenue for the arms race. And therefore, we are linking all those questions together and we believe that this is a fair approach. What is more, I have to say that we have genuine possibilities to resolve all those questions, to resolve all of them together and to have a treaty on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive arms and then to continue further.

Hoagland: The reason behind my question is that there has been movement on both sides toward agreement. I thought perhaps that there's been enough movement on the question of SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] and that now the Washington declaration [at the December summit] could perhaps serve to come to the final great problem, it seems to me, on SDI; which is the difference over what happens at the end of the adherence period. Does the Washington declaration solve the conflict over what happens at the end of the adherence period?

Our country won't be it was. It will change. The mechanisms of change are beginning to work. A great deal remains to be done. The train is under way and is picking up speed.

I think you don't have enough paper to find a place for all these answers.

Central Committee plenum where the first version of Gorbachev's reform program was adopted]. Everything that has been born here in our society, in our party, in the Central Committee, came from the participation of the current leadership of the country.

And let me say that perestroika has already pushed forward a number of very interesting people in every sphere: politics, in economics, in the spiritual sphere. The spreading of the processes of democratization, and their deepening, will bring forward new, interesting forces, new, interesting people, new, fresh faces.

The idea of perestroika is that it creates a mechanism that could manage and self-regulate our society within the framework of the democratic process. This will allow the inclusion of all people, and the best part, the intellectual part, the capable, talented part, in deciding the processes by which to renew our society at all levels of the management of the country.

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Kaiser: One more, if possible. About these changes. To me, as an old resident of Moscow, some of the most startling changes are in the new freedom of expression. The newspapers are so interesting to read now. Television is so interesting to watch now. You have freed many political prisoners. You have allowed many of the old "refuseniks" to emigrate. On May 7, you said you wanted "to complete the creation of a socialist legal state." In your very interesting written answers to us, you called freedom of speech "indispensable," yet some Soviet citizens still get into trouble with the authorities for what looks to us like attempts to exercise freedom of speech. Paruyr Artyan in Armenia and Sergei Grigoryants in Glasnost [editors of a new, unofficial magazine called Glasnost] are recent examples. Is that because some of your authorities don't get "the new thinking" or is that because that sort of things that those people have done is not something you consider expression of freedom of speech?

Gorbachev: Interesting question. I will give a short answer. The most interesting things that perestroika has demonstrated is that our people, while firmly in favor of the renewal of society, and of changes, have firmly expressed the view that changes could happen only within the boundaries of socialism, and on the basis of socialist values.

Even advances in the economic sphere like cooperatives, cost accountability, leasing and individual enterprise, all of this is being discussed seriously, even scrupulously, in our society. People ask, "Is this not a retreat from the principles of socialism?" Some ask if we are undermining the principles of socialism.

And that is because 90 percent of the people living today in the Soviet Union were born and have been raised under socialism. And the present leadership only wants to develop this model of socialism which opened the way for us in all spheres of life. We know socialism, we know its achievements and its problems. And we are going to work within the boundaries of the socialism we have chosen.

That is why everything that evokes people anxiety that someone has tossed up other values, including in the ideological sphere, this evokes a critical reaction. That is also the democratic process. Democracy is like that.

People here know that the Grigoryants "organization," in quotation marks, is tied not only organizationally but also financially to the West, that his constant visitors and guests are Western correspondents. Therefore, people think of him as some kind of alien phenomenon in our society sponging on the democratic process, sponging on the positive aspects of perestroika.

This happens — it happens in nature, too. There are such parasites living off healthy organisms and attempting to harm them.

As a result of a joint project to study Halley's Comet, we have been able to develop dozens of new materials, we have been able to make major advances in electronics and in mathematics. This resulted

GORBACHEV: Joint Mars Trip

(Continued from page 1)
friendly brown eyes that draw and keep the gaze of a visitor on him, and conspicuous neatness. He conducted the 90-minute interview without reference to notes and with one aide present.

(Appearing on an ABC-TV interview program, Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Sunday that the interview indicated it was "quite apparent he wants to see things move forward, and I think that's good."

[Mr. Shultz said the proposal for a joint Mars mission "caught a lot of attention" in the Reagan administration but "has to be studied carefully" within the context of last year's agreement covering joint efforts in space. "We always have to be careful with problems of technology transfer," he said.]

Showing occasional flashes of the exuberance and charm that have made him a well-known and popular figure around the world, Mr. Gorbachev sought to create a positive tone for the May 29-June 2 visit by Mr. Reagan, who Mr. Gorbachev made clear had surprised and impressed him.

"Who would have thought in the early eighties . . . that it would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first nuclear arms reduction treaty in history?" Mr. Gorbachev said, praising Mr. Reagan's "realism" and his willingness to "take a fresh look at the existing realities, while holding to his well-known convictions."

Towing with his eyeglasses case in the opening minutes of the interview, but quickly putting it aside as he took control of the meeting, Mr. Gorbachev displayed a lively, engaged intellect as he threaded his way through questions on Eastern Europe, economic reform, human rights and other topics.

He invoked the biblical story of Jesus feeding the multitude with five loaves of bread to make the point that, like other mortals, Raisa, saying with a laugh, "She is not an easily manageable person."

As he spoke of preparations for the first U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow in 14 years, enthusiasm infused his soft, baritone voice, which resonated throughout the large office. But his mood shifted into sober reflection and deliberation when the Soviet leader was questioned about his turbulent domestic political scene.

He likened the heated debates that have erupted around his program of *perestroika*, or "restructuring," to "a turbulent sea in which it is not easy to sail the ship." But he added, "We have a compass and we have a crew to guide that ship. And the ship itself is strong."

The conversation between Mr. Gorbachev and .Katharine Graham, chairman of the board of The Washington Post Co. and four senior editors from The Washington Post and Newsweek magazine was conducted on Wednesday in his spacious, fifth-floor office in the Communist Party Central Committee headquarters.

His remarks were in Russian and were interpreted by The Washington Post.

The written text to the earlier questions dealt largely with foreign policy; the conversation was dominated by questions and answers about domestic affairs.

Among points made by Mr. Gorbachev were:

• The Soviet Union will help Afghanistan "in dealing with the consequences of the war, in strengthening the Afghan economy" after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. His formulation did not specify if military aid would be included.

• He reaffirmed a declaration he made in Belgrade in March that East Europeans were free to choose their own political systems. But he voiced confidence that they would "continue along the path" of communism voluntarily, and he declined to criticize Soviet military intervention in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

• Mr. Gorbachev said he favored setting fixed terms for senior party officials, including his own post. He indicated this might be presented at a party conference in June.

• He sharply dismissed reports of serious differences in the Politburo over *perestroika*, labeling as "Western media" creations accounts that he and Yegor K. Ligachev, the No. 2 official, were locked in a power struggle.

But a decision by Soviet authorities to drop Mr. Ligachev's name from the Russian-language version of The Washington Post-Newsweek interview, which will be published in Pravda on Monday, underscored sensitivity about such reports in the Soviet Union.

Asked to reconcile his self-described policy of encouraging freedom of speech with recent arrests and harassment of Soviet political dissidents, he said Soviet citizens could raise criticism "only within the boundaries of socialism, and on the basis of socialist values."

Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged that "heated debate" had erupted over *perestroika* within the Soviet populace and leadership. "The whole country is now an enormous debating society," he said.

Efforts by Nikita S. Khrushchev and others to revitalize the Soviet Union failed because they did not, he said, rely on "the involvement of the people in modernizing and restructuring our country."

"I think we have learned from the past," Mr. Gorbachev said when asked about Mr. Khrushchev, who was deposed in 1964. Mr. Gorbachev quickly estab-



Around 300 people held a demonstration at the Armenian cemetery in Moscow on Sunday to demand information on the situation

in Azerbaijan where fresh unrest has been reported. Violence in the republic last February caused a number of Armenian deaths.

inlished a pattern of frankly acknowledging problems at home and then asserting that *perestroika* and Soviet society were strong enough to overcome them. The June conference, he said, would give *perestroika* "a second wind" and permit "corrective measures."

The second train he evinced in person was a strong sense of caution, which led him to balance his ideas as he developed them.

He endorsed far-reaching and visionary goals, such as price reform, in the interview. But he tempered his concept of the "turn around" and Soviet society were strong enough to overcome them. The June conference, he said, would give *perestroika* "a second wind" and permit "corrective measures."

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sions turned to violence, when Azerbaijanis, roused by rumors of atrocities, hunted down most of them Armenians. More than 1,000 were reported killed in the fighting. The Kremlin refused to recognize the boundaries, instead apportioning a package of economic and political officials in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait were measures evidently to defuse the anger.

Armenians were apparently

May 11 with a violent fl

er, an Armenian town

Turkish border. According

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Armenians Hold Rally

reported that thousands of

gathered in the capital of

humanity republic Saturday

official rally paying tribute

to those who suffered under Stalin

Associated Press reported

said the meeting in Vilnius

the "innocent victims of

laws during the

of Stalin's personality cult."

Mr. Fitzgerald once wrote

that there are no second acts in American lives. Mr. Eastwood

said after the showing of the movie

the 12th he directed. "That

comment states Charlie Parker's case.

His talents lifted him from

oblivion to fame, but the pressures

upon him were crushing. His strug-

gle against the odds may have driv-

en him to create, as it has with

other artists. He has left us magic

soars high.

Clint Eastwood's Latest Soars Just Like a 'Bird'

By Thomas Quinn Curtis
International Herald Tribune

CANNES — Clint Eastwood's press conference in the tower of the Cannes Cinéma Palace Saturday morning drew in attendance Robert Redford's session earlier in the week. It was, however, less of a

success. "The [studio] executives were concerned but I just forged ahead at this length. If you really wanted to play it safe, you'd never release a movie."

Charlie Parker, as the film shows, was troubled by drug and alcohol problems and by the ambiguities of his interracial marriage. The sequences showing him touring the U.S. South depict the racial hostility he encountered. When he died at 34, a physical wreck, the coroner thought his body was that of a 65-year-old man.

Mr. Eastwood has not whitewashed the ugly facts but his is not a mere chronicle of misery and woe. He gives us the artist as well as the man, with scenes of the saxophonist enthralling audiences.

Forrest Whitaker as the saxo-

phonist and Diane Venora as the

wife who loves him but sharply

reproves him for his dissipation en-

act their roles in harmony with the

strong direction. As a film, "Bird"



As Sondra Locke smiles, Clint Eastwood acknowledges an ovation Saturday from a crowd in Cannes.

CHE: Last Days Mark the End of a Jazz Era

(Continued from page 1)

summertime place where the living isn't easy. People who had never met him cried when he died.

Boop's creators had to live with critics who said the jazz they played wasn't really "music." But they all heard the sounds they'd discovered in the compositions of acclaimed "serious" compositions and on the soundtracks of popular television series. They worked in Mafia-controlled saloons and collected no royalties. They fought alienation by constructing a secret culture with its own style and language — "bad" meaning "good" is vintage bebop argot. Heroin was part of the huddle. It seemed to cure alienation for a minute.

The Belgian guitarist Philip Catherine describes touring with Chet:

"He would drive from Paris to Brussels by way of Amsterdam; sometimes he'd fly up there between two nights in Paris. He'd be late a lot and there would be some very heavy panics. The pay wasn't always what it was supposed to be, or when, but there were so many magic moments in the music, they made everything else worthwhile."

All of this is now a big budget subject. Dexter Gordon, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis and Sonny Rollins make gold records and play the White House. Today's young "post-boop" jazzmen wear three-piece suits, arrive on time, drink mineral water and negotiate six-figure contracts. It is no coincidence that heroin disappeared as respect arrived. The death of Chet Baker does the last "I" of that sad old story.

The creases on his face multiplied and deepened and his lips turned in over the dentures he had worn since his teeth were knocked

out by angry dealers in San Francisco. He began to resemble an old Indian, the last of a tribe that had seen a heap of suffering. He looked like he needed taking care of and he did and there were always people around to do it. His persistence and ingenuity in pursuit of heroin and his muse and the ability of that parched body and spirit to survive such a relentless onslaught earned him (sometimes reluctant) respect from people of all ages, races, nationalities and stylistic preferences who agreed on little else. Chet was the real thing.

A few years ago, he recalled how embarrassed he had been in the 1950s when he placed higher than Miles Davis and Dizzy Gillespie, both of whom he adored, in the polls because he was a "great white hope" with a pretty face that reminded people of James Dean. He knew he wasn't in their league yet. In the 1980s, when on a good night he was capable of playing as well as jazz can be played, he was dismissed as a has-been. Great white hopes had gone out of style, along with pimmissos. But it was to a large degree his own fault; falling off a chair on stage is not a good career move.

Chet once told a reporter: "I have a medical problem and in Europe they treat it as a medical prob-

lem."

So he came to Europe for love and medicine, moving around three weeks here, two days there, in hotels or wearing out welcome with hosts. The French adored him.

He had a methadone prescription from a doctor in Amsterdam. Methadone cures the craving for heroin. On methadone, the grace would be healthy. But he always returned to Zedelijk in Amsterdam for the hot flush he needed.

The lanky, bespectacled Huys looks too young to be a grandfather of two and too straight to be a road manager for jazz bands. He had been running a part-time jazz club when he lost his job as an electronic engineer five years ago. Knowing and loving the music, he began to travel with Wig's clients like Gillespie, Art Blakey and John Scofield. He figures he's heard more than 150 Chet Baker concerts and he probably knew him as well as anyone.

Last Thursday, Huys was in Schiphol, Amsterdam's airport, waiting to accompany the coffin on a flight to Los Angeles, where Chet's mother owns a plot.

The Dutch impresario Wim Wigt handled Chet in Europe and Japan in the 1980s. It was not an exclusive contract but Wig's estimates that Chet earned over \$200,000 after taxes last year. The two albums he made for Wig's Timeless Records have sold over 25,000 units each and are still selling. It is not difficult to guess where the money went.

One friend recalls Chet arriving

at his house with 30,000 guilders in a shopping bag. He had recently bought a cream-colored Alfa Romeo Giulia with Italian plates. According to Peter Huys, who drove with him often, Chet was an expert driver who would miraculously sober up behind the wheel no matter how stoned he might have been.

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Chet was always losing things, leaving things behind, but he kept the mouthpiece Dizzy Gillespie gave him for years. He was very proud of that. It had 'Binks' engraved on it," Huys added, referring to Gillespie's middle name.

Chet was surprised and delighted when the Dutch trumpet player Evert Hekkema told him that he and his teen-age friends had combed their hair and dressed like him. He had the key to Hekkema's apartment for more than two years. He paid no rent but was always arriving with gifts and never forgot to take care of his long-distance calls.

A rehabilitated addict who asked not to be identified remembers seeing Chet strip naked in search of an uncapped vein. He found one in his groin but missed it several times until the needle finally entered. Then his knees buckled and he fell on to the sink, moaning "saline solution."

The former addict recognized an overdose and prepared the solution quickly. He gave Chet the syringe and this time he hit a vein in his neck on the first try.

Several hours later, when Chet had recovered and was dressing to go to work, the former addict asked him: "Hey, man, don't you ever get tired of this number?"

"It's a drag," he replied. "Hotel rooms and airports and getting guys for gigs. I hate the road."

"I don't mean that," he said. "I mean using dope."

"Oh that," Chet shrugged. "I never think about that."

2 West Bank Palestinians Are Killed In Apparent Firebombing of a Car

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JERUSALEM — A car apparently hit by a firebomb burst into flames in the occupied West Bank on Sunday, killing a Palestinian woman and her son. Hospital officials said another Arab died of a gunshot wound after a confrontation with Israeli soldiers in the West Bank.

Elsewhere, three Arab teenagers were wounded in two separate clashes, and an Israeli man was burned seriously in a firebomb attack, officials and Israel radio said.

The army confirmed the deaths and said it was investigating the causes.

The violence occurred at about 12,000 Palestinian children returned to schools in East Jerusalem for the first time in more than three months. Israel closed the schools during the height of the Arab uprising, which began Dec. 8.

The deaths Sunday brought to 194 the number of Palestinians who have died in the anti-occupation unrest, according to the United Nations. Two Israelis also have been killed.

In the interview with Al Shira, Shamsen Al Kadah, 65, and her son, Mohammed Salah Ghaneem, 36, died when their car caught fire in the West Bank town of Tulkarem as they drove from the hospital

where Mr. Ghaneem's wife had given birth, hospital officials said.

Abu Kabir, an official at Israel's Pathological Institute, said the two died in an apparent firebombing attack. Arab witnesses said the fire occurred after soldiers fired warning shots toward the car, which was traveling through a closed military zone.

Kawther Miri, 23, a refugee camp near Tulkarem, died Sunday of a bullet wound to the chest suffered during clashes Saturday with soldiers, said an official at Rafidah Hospital in Nablus.

Also Sunday, hundreds of protesters in Nablus hurled rocks at soldiers on an avenue named for Khalil Wazir, the slain Palestine

Liberation Organization military commander, hospital officials said. Israel reopened 31 kindergartens, elementary and high schools in East Jerusalem, and the radio said about 50 percent of a student body of 16,000 showed up for classes.

A communiqué from the underground leadership of the uprising appeared in parts of the West Bank on Sunday calling on students to return to school.

It called for a general strike next Wednesday, the 40th day since Mr. Wazir, known as Abu Jihad, was assassinated in Tunis in what was widely believed to have been an Israeli commando attack.

(AP, Reuters)

TEHRAN: Lebanese Shiites Wary

(Continued from page 1)

originate in Moslem West Beirut, with the announcer always making it a point to say: "This is what Moslems have done to Moslems."

In the interview with Al Shira,

Shamsen Al Kadah, 65, and her son, Mohammed Salah Ghaneem, 36, died when their car caught fire in the West Bank town of Tulkarem as they drove from the hospital

in the slum areas on May 16.

"No misery in the world equals ours," a middle-age woman screamed during an interview shown on the state-run television station. "Is this the fate Iran wants for the Shiites?"

Shiite Moslems have traditionally looked to Iran, where politics is dominated by the Shiite clergy of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, for guidance on religious matters.

Since Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in Tehran nine years ago, the government has tried to transform this popularity into political and military influence in Lebanon. It sent 2,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards to indoctrinate young Lebanese Shiites and recruit them into Hezbollah.

But now, portraits of Ayatollah Khomeini in West Beirut have been defaced, and signs saying "Only Deus Is Our Leader" have been put up.

The reference is to Nabih Berri,

the Shiite Moslem who heads

Amal.

One point of vulnerability for the Iranians in Lebanon is that they speak Persian, not Arabic. When Iran's acting foreign minister, Ali Mohammed Becharati, met with local Lebanese leaders last week, he had to use an interpreter.

"The Iranian republic demands unquestioned loyalty from us," Sheikh Qabalan complained in the interview. He said he told the Iranian: "I reject you because I have experienced you. Leave us alone before it is too late."

Mr. Walters said that during the talks there was recognition that the deployment "could work two ways."

"In one way it could work to endanger the hostages, and in another way it could work such that it would not endanger them and would make the deployment 'safe,'" he said.

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Frankly Unproductive

To the extent that governments influence the world economy, the meeting last week in Paris was not entirely reassuring. It was a classic example of the tendency of Americans and Europeans to talk past each other, while the Japanese keep their own counsel. The occasion was the annual ministerial meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, whose members are the industrial democracies. It was, as the diplomats like to say, a frank and frank exchange of views — meaning that nobody won any arguments.

The Europeans wanted the United States to acknowledge that personal consumption in America is rising faster than the country can afford. High consumption and the American export boom incite fears of inflation that are rattling the financial markets and making Europe uneasy.

In response, the Reagan administration argued that there are no rational grounds for expecting higher inflation. That is not true, of course, while inflation is not likely to rise dramatically in the coming year, it is clearly rising. But the reality is that it is an election year and the administration has no intention of doing anything that will discourage spending in the next six months. If anything is done, it will be done by the Federal Reserve Board — which was not at the Paris meeting. The Europeans will have to wait until next year for an administration

which it can talk with about inflation. In the meantime, like everybody else, they will have to look to the central bankers for anti-inflationary fire prevention.

As for the Americans, they wanted above all an agreement to eliminate agricultural subsidies. The Europeans concede that the present system is grossly wasteful. The OECD's statisticians estimate that by the mid-1980s all of the industrial countries together were spending \$240 billion a year on agricultural supports, twice the amount at the beginning of the decade. The Europeans know that their present system produces huge unnecessary surpluses. But they cannot agree among themselves on reforms, and in any case they regard these subsidies as an investment in a social stability that they cherish. The Paris meeting agreed that something is going to have to be done, but beyond that it was not specific.

That is a pretty accurate reflection of the state of the international political economy this season. Macroeconomic discussion is suspended pending the American election. Microeconomic reform meets the deep reluctance of Europeans (and Japanese) to force the pace of social change at home. The Paris meeting concluded that things are going pretty well and that, while there can always be improvements, nobody is making any promises.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Military, Carefully

The politics of drugs suddenly alters the mood of Congress. Alarmed by rising public concern over drug-related crime and corruption, members are rushing to enlist the Defense Department in a literal war on drugs. Both the Senate and the House propose using the military to stop drug smugglers.

The rush prompts some people to fear that Congress may carelessly reach the line between cops and soldiers. It prompts others to mock the legislators for meaningless posturing. But there is nothing wrong with the basic idea. Use of the military will not stop the drug tide, yet there are military measures that could slow it without any threat to liberty at home. They warrant public support.

Interdicting contraband is no simple matter, with or without the military. There is no obvious way to sort out smugglers from the hordes of aircraft and boats arriving each day. Small planes taking off from northern Mexico for the hop across the border remain airborne so briefly that they are easily missed by radar. A recent Rand Corporation study reports that when Coast Guard officers stopped boats on random patrol, only 2.6 percent were found to be carrying drugs. When boardings were based on intelligence reports, the figure rose to only 12.8 percent.

Furthermore, the most realistic purpose of the military is to reduce demand for drugs by forcing up the retail price. Yet suppliers make such enormous profits that they could easily absorb the sharp increases in expenses caused by intercepted shipments or the need for evasive strategies.

Still, even if interdiction alone cannot contain the drug problem, it can help. Sensible policy would aim to make it more efficient. The unrealistic approach of the House legislation ought to be discarded in favor of the Senate's realistic proposals.

The House amendment famously assumes that the United States can immediately seal its borders. The bill orders deployment of military forces within 30 days in order to "substantially halt" illegal drug imports within another 45 days. If the House is serious, it had better plan to recall hundreds of planes and ships on defense duty in the Gulf and elsewhere in the world.

The Senate proposal wisely recognizes the need for cautious but constructive and practical steps. It calls on the president to designate a lead agency for drug interdic-

tion and favors the Department of Defense. That makes sense. Some 14 agencies now fight drug trafficking, but they are hampered by rivalries and redundancies. For instance, the Coast Guard and the Customs Service each run their own mini air force and plan a new air command and control network that would duplicate one already in place. The Pentagon, with its deep experience with radar surveillance, is ideally suited to impose order.

In the meantime, the bill would immediately increase surveillance of the southwest border and would make logistical help from Defense available for civilian law enforcement at all times, not just when high officials declare an emergency. The Senate would also allow the depurating of some seamen to help with arrests on the high seas.

That would amplify the current practice, in which Coast Guard law enforcement officers go along on navy ships in order to make arrests. Another section of the bill would provide \$60 million to fund states' use of their National Guards to fight drugs. That might prompt more innovative and effective interdiction strategies.

The Senate measure is part of the Defense authorization bill, now paralyzed by Senator Alfonse D'Amato's insistence on the death penalty for drug gangsters who commit murder. That proposal only sounds tough. Drug kingpins already accept repeated threats to life and limb from rival criminals. Adding the chance of capital punishment in the rare event that they are convicted of murder is unlikely to change their calculations of risk.

America's drug problem will not be eliminated with a dramatic stroke, whether it is calling out the marines, constructing a federal electric chair or the appointment of yet another bipartisan commission as President Reagan now proposes. No good can come from demanding or expecting too much. Many responses are needed: diplomatic pressure on supplier countries, aid to local law enforcement, dramatic expansion of treatment for addicts — and more efficient border interdiction.

Civil law enforcement is now able to muster up only a thin blue line against drugs. Careful use of the military would quickly make it thicker.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

America, Russia and Europe

If the Soviet Union seems to be abandoning many features of its foreign policy which are objectionable to American public opinion, may there not be one of those swings of opinion in the United States which lead to a euphoric approach to foreign policy? The change in Russia has thrown international politics into a state of flux. It now seems unlikely that all this is merely a ruse which will end with Russia tearing off its whiskers and pouncing. But Russia does have long-established foreign policy interests and habits which still represent a threat to its neighbors. Nor can we be sure there will not be a sudden reversal within the Soviet Union which might result in a conservative leader seeking expansionist successes of the old model. Europeans, therefore, must safeguard their own interests, which may no longer be those of the United States.

— The Sunday Telegraph (London).

Wronged in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been the scene of some of the most serious human rights violations on record. About half of the country's pre-war population of 15,000,000 is either in emigration or internally displaced or dead. Most of the violations that we documented in the past continued in 1987, despite the fact that prospects for peace in 1988 seem brighter than ever before.

Most of the abuses are attributable to the

Afghan government and the Soviet troops and advisers who sustain it. The brutality of the war in areas that the Soviet/Afghan forces have sought to control and the severity of the repression in the areas they do control have left no respite for Afghan civilians and have caused them to flee in staggering numbers.

We also point to violations on the part of the resistance forces. We continue to deplore the execution of prisoners of war by the resistance, often after a trial that is lacking in most aspects of what we consider due process. Care must be taken to see that the Hezb-i Islami (Hekmatyar), or any other group guilty of gross human rights violations, does not have undue influence in the formation of a new government.

— From a report by Helsinki Watch/Asia Watch, quoted by The Washington Post.

One Serve Should Be Enough

The ace is absolutely contrary to the spirit of the game. Tennis is a conversation, one player trying to outmaneuver the other as in a game of chess. But the ace is brute force. It ends the conversation. It is not what the game was meant to be. Sometimes matches drag on and get a little boring, and one of the reasons is the first serve. It means a lot to me to see the game more beautifully played.

— Philippe Charlier, president of the International Tennis Federation, arguing in The Sunday Times (London) for doing away with the second serve.

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A Centrist Trying to Lead a 'Revolution'

By Jim Hoagland

MOSCOW — As he greets you with firm handshake and friendly smile, his warm brown eyes locking on you, he is for a few moments the same Mikhail Gorbachev who overwhelmed Washington last December. He speaks about that summit congenitally as he concludes his welcome and takes his seat across the table.

But it is another, more somber Mikhail Gorbachev who takes part in a 90-minute interview that dwells on his reforms and his problems in the Soviet Union. On his own turf, the Kremlin leader is a study in control and deliberation.

Press him on sensitive topics like human rights and Eastern Europe, and clouds settle on his brow.

He holds the banner of reform high, but he slows down the parade when it gets disorderly.

But he holds back the displays of displeasure that have surfaced in his press conferences in the West.

If he was all show business when he met the press in Washington, he is all business in Moscow. Long pauses float between sentences, even when he is repeating well-established positions. He is in charge, and he is also on guard.

Mr. Gorbachev's more subdued demeanor reflects a traditional reserve that Soviet leaders display at home when dealing with affairs of state, I am told later by specialists.

But my feeling after interviewing the Soviet leader with a small group of colleagues is that much more is involved. Ronald Reagan is likely to find his superpower partner preoccupied and busily fashioning a new domestic political balance when the U.S.-Soviet summit starts next Sunday.

Mr. Gorbachev is a skillful politician. His essence can hardly be captured in a conversation hamstrung by the presence of an interpreter. But

the equally firm way in which he pursues some questions and turns others aside confirms that he seeks change and at the same time demands that it move at a carefully controlled pace.

With deliberation, he draws the boundaries that must be crossed: The unrealistic state pricing system has to be junked; people have to be encouraged to talk about what changes they want in a society that must maintain socialist values as the only agent and guardian of change in a world of market forces.

But with equal care the general secretary draws the boundaries that cannot be crossed: Price changes will be made only in ways that do not lower the standard of living; attacks on socialism do not qualify for protection under glasnost; the Red Army's interventions in Prague and Budapest are not to be criticized or altered.

He uses the words "grandiose" and "revolutionary" at one point to describe the nature of the change he is seeking. But that is more a measure of the desperate task he has undertaken and the bankruptcy of the system that he has inherited of his own political program.

A Moscow intellectual says, "Everyone knows what needs to be done to change this system. But everyone also knows that it is impossible." Simply by saying that change is possible, Mr. Gorbachev has become a visionary in the land of the blind.

Mr. Gorbachev acknowledges both the sharp debate here and the speculation abroad about his ability to survive that his reform program has provoked. After listening to me, I conclude that he is genuine in wanting the debate and in saying that he does not fear a Polburo coup.

This is why:

As troubles have multiplied around his reform program of perestroika, Mr. Gorbachev has moved to the center. He continues to hold the banner of reform high, but he slows down the parade when it gets disorderly. He cramps the

right wing by siding on Yegor Ligachev in a fight over Stalism. He strikes out at the perestroika ultras on the left by dumping Boris Yeltsin. He has gradually turned perestroika into a struggle at, and for, the center of the Communist Party.

Both in his remarks here and in his writings, there are strong traces of disillusionment with the party that Stalin converted into an instrument of terror, corruption and mediocrity. But Mr. Gorbachev leaves no doubt that he sees a renewed party as the only agent and guardian of change in a society that must maintain socialist values as the only agent and guardian of change in a world of market forces.

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New International Bond Issues

Compiled by Laurence Desvillettes

Issuer	Amount (millions)	Mat.	Coup. %	Price end week	Terms
FLATING RATE NOTES					
ABIMC Mortgage Molines Number 3	£ 150	2015	0.325	100	— Over 3-month Libor for first 10 years and 6% thereafter, Callable or par in 1993. Average life 6½ years. Fees 0.375%.
FIXED-COUPON					
Motor Building Society	£ 200	1993	9½	101½	99.63 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Finance Crédit National	£ 50	1993	9½	102½	— Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
European Investment Bank	DM 200	1998	5%	99½	97.25 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Japan Highway Public Corp.	DM 250	1995	5½	100%	99.00 Noncallable. Fees 2½%.
Maxwell Communication	DM 150	1993	6	100%	98.90 Noncallable. Fees 2%.
McDonald's	DM 100	1993	5½	100	98.45 Noncallable. Fees 2%.
British Airways	£ 100	2008	10%	99.147	— Noncallable. Fees not disclosed.
Dixons Group	£ 90	1995	11	104½	— Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Pearson	£ 100	2008	10½	99%	96.13 Noncallable. 25% payable on subscription and balance due in Dec. Fees 2½%.
Woolwich-Equitable Building Society	£ 75	1995	9%	101½	— Coupon will be 9½% in first 3 years and 0.17 over 6-month Libor thereafter. Redemptions or par in 1991. Fees 1½%.
Electrolux	FF 500	1995	9½	100%	97.75 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Fiso Gützeit	ECU 100	1993	7½	100%	98.25 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Merrill Lynch & Co.	ECU 75	1990	7½	101.075	99.83 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Bank of Nova Scotia	CS 100	1991	10%	101%	99.50 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Standard Funding	CS 100	1993	10%	101½	100.00 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Federal Business Development Bank	CS 50	1990	9%	100%	99.63 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
National Australia Bank	CS 75	1991	10	101½	99.75 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
National Victoria & Grey Trust	CS 100	1993	10%	101%	99.13 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Australian Industry Development	Aus\$ 100	1993	12%	101%	99.63 Noncallable. Fees 2%.
JACOS Finance	Aus\$ 60	1991	13	101%	100.00 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Eurofima	Aus\$ 125	1993	12½	101%	99.00 Noncallable. Fees 2%.
Rural & Industries	Aus\$ 75	1991	13½	101%	99.63 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
Bank of Western Australia	—	—	—	—	—
Bergen Bank	¥ 12,000	1993	5	101½	— Noncallable. Fees 1½%. Denominations 100 million yen.
Bergen Bank	¥ 10,000	1993	2½	101%	— Coupon will be 2½% in first 2 years and 6% thereafter.
Shanghai Investment & Trust Corp.	¥ 15,000	1995	5½	101%	98.63 Noncallable. Fees 1½%. Denominations 10 million yen.
Shoibank	¥ 5,000	1993	5	101%	— Noncallable. Fees 1½%. Denominations 100 million yen.
Western Australia Treasury Corp.	¥ 10,000	1993	5	101%	97.63 Noncallable. Fees 1½%.
SECURITY-LINKED					
Shin-Etsu Polymer	\$ 60	1993	open	100	— Coupon indicated at 4½%. Noncallable. Each \$5,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares or an expected 2½% premium. Fees 2½%. Terms to be set May 22.
Yamamotochi Pharmaceutical	\$ 300	1993	3%	100	— Noncallable. Each \$5,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares of 4,408 yen per share and of 125.80 yen per dollar. Fees 2½%.
Center Parcs U.K.	£ 60	1998	5½	100	— Callable at 10% in 1993. Convertible at 80 pence per share and of 3,553 pence per pound. Fees 2½%.

EUROBONDS: The Market Fears Inflation Despite Assurances by U.S.

(Continued from first finance page)
needed," he added. "The earlier central banks show their willingness to tighten in coordinated fashion, the better it will be for world bond markets."

He argued that a tighter U.S. credit policy and higher interest rates could lift the dollar from its current level of 125 yen and 1.70 Deutsche marks, which would help moderate import-price inflation without seriously hampering export growth or fueling imports.

Such a move, Mr. Wilmoth noted, would also give Japan and West Germany the room they want to raise rates more modestly to curtail excessive growth in their domestic liquidity.

Others, like Mr. Simkin, disagreed, saying the Bundesbank and Bank of Japan would be sellers of dollars at rates above present levels. That would both curtail domestic money supply growth and reduce their dollar holdings — leaving them ammunition with

which to intervene if the dollar subsequently falls.

Meanwhile, the waiting — either for the central banks to act or for the proof justifying the status quo — has virtually immobilized the Eurobond market.

Issuers, however, remain eager to tap the market and lock in costs before they rise or arrange swaps while they still are available. Swaps into floating-rate dollars below the London interbank offered rate are the main attraction. The issuers are relying heavily on Canadian- and Australian-dollar issues, popular with retail investors because of their double-digit coupons.

The National Australia Bank marketed an issue of 75 million Canadian dollars bearing a 10 percent coupon and interchangeable with an issue sold last month. The new paper was offered to yield 39 basis points more than the yield on domestic government bonds at a time when the previous paper was trading at about 8 basis points below the benchmark.

In the DM sector, McDonald's, a popular name with retail investors, was well received and ended the

week trading within its underwriting fees, as was Japan Highway which was largely placed with Far East investors. Maxwell Communications' 6 percent coupon for five years was eye-catching, compared with the 5½ percent prevailing, but critics questioned whether the relatively high coupon fairly reflected the credit quality.

In the sterling sector, both British Airways and Pearson sold £100 million of 20-year paper aimed at domestic institutional investors. The issues were structured as Eurobonds, rather than as domestic issues, to avoid regulatory delays in approaching the market.

In the money market, the Council of Europe Resettlement Fund announced last week it will tap the commercial paper market for up to \$500 million with Morgan Stanley, Bankers Trust, Daiwa and Swiss Bank Corp. appointed as dealers.

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Falling Bond Prices Fail to Lure Investors

By H.J. Maidenberg
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — U.S. securities dealers marked down prices of Treasury bills, notes and bonds at the end of last week in largely futile effort to attract investors.

Although Friday's mood was decidedly bearish, dealers noted that sellers were almost as scarce as buyers.

Fears of inflation continued to undermine prices of notes and bonds. The closely watched Commodity Research Bureau index of futures prices, which covers 21 basic food and industrial raw materials, jumped 1.86 points, to 246.11. A week ago, the index stood at 234.55.

Early in Friday's session, however, the market had little response to a report that the U.S. consumer price index rose 0.4 percent in April. The figure was in line with expectations.

In the afternoon, prices dropped sharply in thin trading after the government said the federal budget surplus in April was roughly \$5 billion below the \$19 billion that many economists had expected.

Later in the day, the bellwether 9½ percent Treasury bond due in 2018 was being offered at 97.27-32, down 20/32 on the day. A week

ago, the bonds were selling at 100 7/32. The yield on the bonds rose to 9.34 percent from 9.28 percent a day before and 9.10 percent a week earlier.

Among other Treasury securities, the 9 percent issue of 1998 lost 13/32, falling to 98 19/32, with the yield rising to 9.21 percent from 9.07 percent a week ago.

The new three-year notes, the 8½ percent issue of 1991, fell 6 1/32, 21 basis points from 8 3/32, and the yield rose to 8.31 percent from 8.10 percent.

This week, the Treasury plans to auction \$2.5 billion of two-year notes Wednesday and \$7 billion of five-year notes on Thursday. On Friday, the two-year notes traded on a when-issued basis to yield 8.10 percent.

Many speculators had acquired large positions in these and other short-term instruments in the belief that the stock market would continue to decline.

But there were no huge waves of selling in the sluggish stock market.

Given the high cost of holding large positions, many speculators and short-term traders decided to liquidate their holdings.

A banking source said the monetary authority may have scaled down its U.S. dollar reserves following the recent depreciation of the U.S. currency. The source said the authority would have swapped the dollars for yen and pounds to 30 percent in yen.

Source: New York Times.

U.S. Consumer Rates
May 20
Ten Existing Bonds
Bond Buyer 30-Year Index
Moody's Market Funds
Dow Jones's 7-Day Average
Bank Money Market Accounts
Bank Rate Monitor Index
Home Mortgages, FHLB average
Source: New York Times.

Africa Bank To Support Fresh Loans

By Louis Uchitelle
New York Times Service

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — Find-

ing sources of fresh loans for Africa is emerging as a key method that the African Development Bank will support to implement economic recovery on the continent, officials say.

The African economy grew just 0.8 percent last year, up from 0.3 percent in 1986. Analysts have noted the region's population is rising three times as fast as the economy.

Speaking in advance of the bank's 24th annual meeting, scheduled to begin on June 1, Kofi K. Dei-Anang, secretary-general of the institution, said the tripling of the bank's capital, to \$20 billion from \$6.3 billion, constituted one of the major responses of the group to the problem of spurring economic recovery in African countries.

The capital increase was approved by a committee of 18 members set up two years ago.

The meeting is also expected to focus on proposals to alleviate

problems associated with Africa's approximately \$200 billion of foreign debt by increasing the use of refinancing, the provision of new loans to pay off old ones, in addition to rescheduling payments to existing creditors.

In comments on Friday, Mr. Dei-Anang said the session will examine the possibility of establishing an export-import bank for Africa to help entrepreneurs involved in export-import businesses.

Banking officials said such a bank could fill a conspicuous institutional gap in Africa and promote the growth of African trade.

The meeting is also to review the bank's five-year \$7.2 billion lending program, which began last year.

Under the 1982-1986 lending program, the bank was to invest \$7.3 billion, but only 80 percent of the total was disbursed as a result of problems related to a devastating drought, bank reports said.

The meeting is also likely to consider the granting of \$234 million to the Central Bank of Nigeria for export promotion. Sources said the loan would be the largest by the development bank.

The bank, founded in 1966, has 50 African and 25 non-African members. Mr. Dei-Anang has said he expected the group to support the development plan suggested by U.S. Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d, under which Western nations would provide increased capital for developing countries that revamp their economies to emphasize free-market principles.

per. As a result, prices of these products have risen by more than 30 percent in two years, mostly because mills are working at full capacity.

But American companies that produce finished paper products and containers have not been able to pass along all of these increases in their raw materials, as well as other pressures, will translate into a sharply higher inflation rate by year's end, as many economists predict.

"Pressures are there to hold down prices because competitive circumstances force people to do so," said James H. McNeal Jr., chairman of Budd Co., an auto parts manufacturer in Troy, Michigan.

So far this year, producer prices have risen at a modest annualized rate of 2.9 percent. They rose 0.4 percent in April, but just 0.1 percent when the volatile food and energy categories were excluded.

In Budd's case, the prices of steel and plastics used to make car doors, moldings and other parts have risen sharply, but the prices of the auto parts manufacturer in Troy, Michigan.

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NASDAQ National Market

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday.

May 30

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MONDAY SPORTS

SIDELINES

Timmermann Sets World Shot Put Record

ATHENS (UPI) — East German shotputter Ulf Timmermann broke the world shotput record with an effort of 23.06 meters (75 feet, 8 inches) Sunday at an international meet in Chania, Crete. The previous mark of 22.91 meters, was set by Alessandro Andrei of Italy August 12, 1987. Timmermann held the record of 22.62 meters in 1983 and 1986.

Lottery Gives Clippers Top NBA Draft Pick

NEW YORK (AP) — The Los Angeles Clippers, the only National Basketball Association team that has not made the playoffs in the past 10 years, won Saturday's NBA lottery and the first pick — expected to be Danny Manning — in the June 28 draft. Manning, a forward who led Kansas to the NCAA title in April, had 2,951 points on 59.3 percent shooting in his college career, and 1,187 rebounds.

Los Angeles, 17-63 this season, went into the lottery with two chances to win the top pick because of a 1986 trade with Sacramento. The Clippers also won the Kings' No. 6 first-round pick. The order of the first seven picks are after the Clippers: Indiana, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Golden State, the Clippers again and Phoenix.

Rose Breaks 3-Way Tie to Lead in U.S. Golf

FORT WORTH, Texas (AP) — Clarence Rose, with four birdies on the back nine, took a three-stroke lead after Saturday's third round of the Colonial National Invitation golf tournament. Rose, a nonwinner in his eight seasons on the PGA tour, broke out of a three-way tie for the lead with a five-under-par 65 for a 10-under-par 200. Joey Sindlar's 15-foot (4.5-meter) birdie putt on the final hole completed a 67 that left him alone in second at 203. Ben Crenshaw was next with a 68.

Lanny Wadkins, who shared the lead through the first two rounds, shot a par 70 and fell five shots back at 205, tied with Mark Calcavecchia, who had a 68. Scott Hoch, also a co-leader through the first 36 holes, had a 71 and was tied at 206 with Mark Lye, John Huston, John Mahaffey and John Inman.

Quotable

• Hall-of-fame golfer Ben Hogan, 76: "I dreamed one time — and this sounds crazy — that I made 17 holes-in-one, and on the 18th hole I tipped the cup and I was just madder than hell." (LAT)

• The Atlantic City (New Jersey) Press, in a correction after boxing promoter Don King claimed the paper libeled him: "Due to a reporter's error, the Press erroneously reported that Don King had been convicted of armed robbery. Actually, Mr. King served time for manslaughter." (LAT)

• Pittsburgh Pirate outfielder Andy Van Slyke, when asked if there is anyone on Earth with whom he'd like to trade places: "My wife, so I could see how wonderful it is to live with me." (AP)

SCARES	ADONIS
ACADEMY	MEMORIAL
PARADES	EMANATE
INN	ORTOLAN
EDAR	YETIS
CAGES	WINO
ELECTRIC	MIA
ERIC	BRAIN
PLAN	FRANCIS
GRADED	BRAGGART
RENEW	GRO ALLOW
ONES	ADAGE ELSE
PAM	MICNRDE ATE
EMOTION	ESSAYED
DENIERS	SINNERS
DEANNE	SNEADS

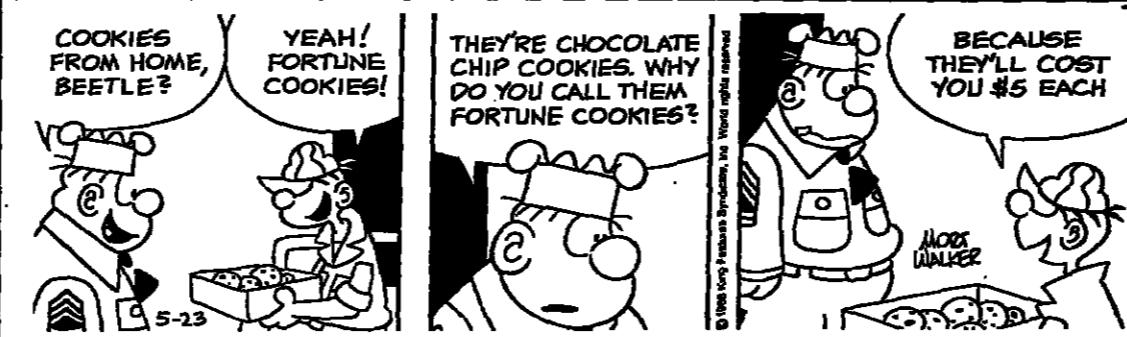
PEANUTS



BLONDIE



BEETLE BAILEY



ANDY CAPP



WIZARD OF ID



REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



Gretzky Excels as Oilers Take a 2-0 Lead

By Robin Finn
New York Times Service

EDMONTON, Alberta — The Oilers waited just long enough for the Boston Bruins to make Friday night's game dangerous, and then, provoked by a 2-2 tie, Wayne Gretzky slid into the slot and gave Edmonton a 3-2 lead. One empty-net goal later, the Oilers were halfway to their fourth National Hockey League title in five seasons.

Gretzky glided along in front of Rejean Lemelin until the goalie made a motion to challenge him, and then shoved the puck under the goalie's outstretched stick 11 minutes and 21 seconds into the final period. Jari Kurri put the fourth goal into an empty net at 19:53.

The Bruins had been ineffective in the early going, belying their own predictions of an awakened offense. But after Edmonton

scored two power-play goals, its offense opened half-heartedly — and Boston, undaunted by the two-goal deficit, took pains to rid itself of it in the final period.

Grant Fuhr was beaten by Boston's first shot of the period (and

just in eighth of the night), when Bob Joyce wound up just above the left circle and blazed a shot into the net at 00:35.

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The Bruins had made only logical changes they could by choosing Lemelin to protect that goal, but a cascade of penalties after the midpoint of the first period erased whatever lift his return had provided. The Bruins, freed from chafing themselves for their 14-shot performance Wednesday, challenged Fuhr only twice in the second period.

The early penalties to Boston gave the Oilers just the opportunity they wanted, a clear avenue toward rejuvenating an offense they believed to be somewhat limp in the opening game.

It was a scenario the Bruins needed to avoid, but each time they

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